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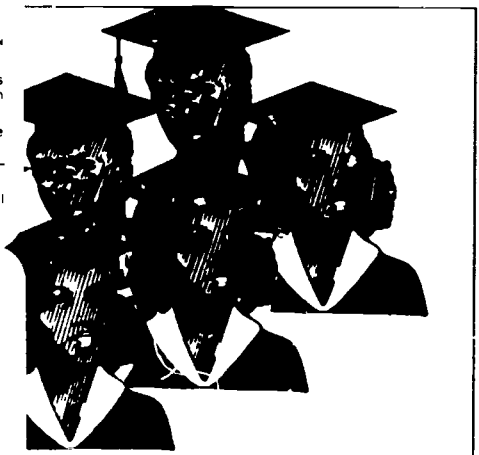
ABSTRACT

Do social policy intellectuals and their research help to strengthen quality education? Was the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in Brown v. Topeka Board of Education, which relied heavily on social science research, flawed in its reasoning on school desegregation, equal educational opportunity, and quality education for African Americans? Both questions deserve answers in the affirmative. The Supreme Court's 1954 Brown ruling was correct; however, the subsequent decision to overemphasize racial integration and underemphasize quality education was a mistake of enormous proportions. Educational policy experts, as members of an evolving professional-managerial elite, used their knowledge to contribute significantly to policies such as busing for racial balance and magnet programs, but these programs are not enough. These experts who contribute to the formulation and implementation of policies do not have all the answers to complex educational problems. Policy intellectuals will continue to influence educational policy making, but the role of expertise must be clarified and refined in light of its limitations. Past mistakes in educational policy with respect to quality education have resulted in several generations of African-American and Hispanic-American youth who were trapped in these desegregated but inferior schools and who will be left behind in this managerial society. Quality education must be reinstated in all American schools if the United States is to remain foremost among advanced techological nations. (JS)

Essays and Policy Studies



RETREAT FROM QUALITY

Policy Intellectuals, Education Policymaking and Politics in a Changing Society

Floyd W. Hayes III

Institute for Independent Education

Institute for Independent Education

Policy Studies on Education

This is one of several of essays and policy studies intended for policymakers, researchers, teachers, administrators, parents, students and others who are interested in the education of African-American, Hispanic-American, American-Indian and Asian-American youth..

The entire series of essays and policy studies explores the cultural roots and historical legacies of these various groups. It probes what it means to be independent and to enjoy that liberty. It discusses the general context of learning in schools of all types, and it lays the foundation for determining what must be done to enhance American education. It is also designed to stimulate readers to consider why independent schools are important and what role they should have in America's educational system.

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Retreat from Quality

Policy Intellectuals, Education Policymaking and Politics in a Changing Society

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Do social policy intellectuals and their research help to strengthen quality education? Was the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*, which relied heavily on social science research, flawed in its reasoning on school desegregation, equal educational opportunity and quality education for African Americans? Both questions deserve qualified answers in the affirmative.

A transformation of major proportions, and with enormous consequences for education, is underway in America. It is an epoch-making transition from a capital-intensive economy based on physical resources, which dominated the first half of this century, to a knowledge-intensive economy based on human resources in the last half. The result has been an increase in the power of experts in an increasingly complex society.

There has been a parallel development in education, as a professional managerial elite has taken control in a highly bureaucratic educational system. These are the same educational experts who collaborated in both the genesis and the aftermath of the *Brown* decision. However, the integration of African Americans and European Americans in public schools, which was interpreted as the goal of *Brown*, is not working. In addition, several policymaking experiments, which these experts intended to achieve this objective, have academically crippled several generations of young people. As a result, America is faced with the need to redirect educational systems and improve the quality of education in order to meet the challenges of the next century.

I: Expertise and Power in a Changing Society

The principal resource in America's declining capital-intensive economy has been financial capital which was invested in industrial plants, machinery and technologies to increase the muscle power of human labor. In the emerging knowledge-intensive economy, the decisive resource is cultural capital: the nation's investment in education, knowledge, computers and advanced technologies that enhance the mental ability of workers (Botkin, Dimancescu and Stata, 1984).

Specialized knowledge, communication skills, the capacity to process and utilize collections of information in strategic decisionmaking, and an increasingly organizational approach to managing people have acquired a significance far in excess of what they commanded in the first half of the twentieth century. With this expanding role for specialized knowledge, experts are becoming a "new class" in the public policymaking process (Francis, 1982; Galbraith, 1971; Walker, 1981).

Mental capacity and management skills are supplanting the power of money and manufacturing. Learning is an indispensable investment for social development, and educational credentials usually are the key to a person's role in society. In view of these trends, parents are becoming preoccupied with the educational advantages they can confer on their children. Therefore, education increasingly is a focal point for public attention, and schools are the site of social and political conflict.

As society becomes more complex, diverse and bureaucratic, many economic, political, cultural and technological changes produce uncertainty and confusion. People tend to believe that their personal experience, common sense and intuition are no longer adequate for either understanding complex issues or formulating policies and strategies for their resolution. When direct exchange and mutual adjustment no longer seem sufficient, any given action may have important delayed effects, and hidden costs are an ever-present dilemma.

In addition, many adjustments are not made by direct negotiation or mutual agreement but, rather, through mediating structures such as the neighborhood, the family, the church or other voluntary associations. Therefore, each attempted

adjustment sets in motion a chain of further reactions (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977; Hirsch, 1976; La Porte, 1975).

In this increasingly complex society, where there is a thirst for specialized information relevant to policymaking, greater power shifts to those who produce knowledge, the professional-managerial elite often referred to as policy intellectuals, social managers, policy technocrats, idea entrepreneurs, political executives, intellectual activists or policy politicians. They conceptualize and design strategies for handling social problems, but they also produce ideas and images that direct the cultural and ideological development of society.

This "new class" does not rise to dominance by itself, because social managers and their knowledge, as such, do not constitute governing power. To be effective, these people must be allied to a political or organizational base. Thus, the locus of their power is in their access to and influence over policymakers in bureaucracies such as government, major universities, philanthropic foundations, the mass media, political action committees and policy research institutes (Benveniste, 1972; Burnham, 1960; Gouldner, 1979; Lebedoff, 1981).

Networks of policy watchers, both in and out of government, operate at many levels to influence the intellectual direction or dimension of policy decisions. They may be policy specialists within the offices of political executives, intellectual activists who appear at local school board hearings, reknowned university professors who are consultants to government officials on important policy matters, or social scientists whose research findings contribute to major court rulings. Therefore, public officials and the lay public are increasingly attentive to policy intellectuals and their knowledge in a managerial society that is characterized by a growing convergence of power and knowledge, of politics and expertise (Hayes, 1985).

Although specialized knowledge from social research may contribute to the search for solutions to educational problems and may serve as a basis for developing and implementing educational policies, the complexity of these problems exposes the limitations of formal knowledge and of professionals as experts. Policy experts simply do not have all the solutions to the multifaceted and complicated problems that affect the achievement of equal educational oppportunity and quality

education by African Americans. Their knowledge of social reality is always partial and inadequate (Aaron, 1978; Lindblom and Cohen, 1979).

On the other hand, because policy intellectuals have acquired such public visibility, they are subject to increasing scrutiny. Many ordinary citizens hold the view that professional experts often are a part of the problem rather than a part of the solution. Contributing to this perception is the fact that education policy intellectuals do not always agree about the issue of achieving equal educational opportunity and quality education. Therefore, in the absence of a consensus, or when specialized knowledge is insufficient, politicians often are called upon to fill the void.

II: Managerial Expertise in Education

Educational managerialism has accompanied the larger social transformation to a managerial order. Its emergence can be traced to the Progressive Era, which began in the late nineteenth century and extended throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

If the earlier common school movement could best be characterized by its moral zeal, emphasis on character building and the organizational simplicity of schools (Tyack, 1974), the Progressive Era could be distinguished by its enthusiasm for a "science" of education, its emphasis on expertise and efficiency, and the growing organizational complexity of public school systems (Callahan, 1962; Cremin, 1961, 1988; Spring, 1972; Tyack and Hansot, 1982). During this period, educational reformers sought to consolidate urban school districts and to centralize executive control in the hands of professional managers known as school superintendents.

The demands of leadership also gave rise to elite groups of professionals who were called an "educational trust" (Tyack and Hansot, 1982). These groups consisted of university professors, superintendents in big city schools, business leaders and foundation officials who, in a concerted effort, defined the meaning of a "good education" and controlled the schooling process. As these networks of professional educators set forth the science of school management and promoted a corporate model for school

governance, new professional organizations and scholarly journals were established.

Closely linked to this movement was the emergence of school surveys. Outside experts systematically studied schools for the purpose of standardizing the practice of education. As Tyack and Hansot (1982, p. 152) point out, the managerial progressives sought reform through research, and numbers were transformed into norms:

> The members of the educational trust believed that people could control their own future through the conscious application of 'science' to social problems. Better education was the key to social efficiency, a way to bring about a smoothly meshing social order Research was thus not just a specialized activity of scholars but a means of generating norms of practice

By the 1930s, the "gospel" of science and expertise dominated education. Specialization, mechanization and corporate organization were the foundation for the ideology of managerial progressives. George Strayer, a leading member of the educational trust, argued that considerable progress in the management of city school systems from 1910 to 1930 resulted from the application of the scientific method to the problems of administration and the professional training of school executives.

Managerial progressives also viewed applied educational research — expert knowledge, rather than common sense — as a basis for social engineering. In theory, the strategy was to identify problems and empirically test practical solutions. In this regard, Strayer and other administrative progressives emphasized managerial concerns more than those of classroom instruction.

The managerial progressives and professional researchers who dominated public school governance often developed the very narrow view that the results of educational research justify existing social inequalities. For example, they accepted uncritically quantitative studies showing the interrelationship between occupations and the distribution of IQ scores. That is, if the 'smart' people generally had the good jobs and the 'dumb' people the poor ones, society was as it should be.

Managerial progressives also used the industrial corporation as a model of scientific management in education. Frederick W. Taylor (1947), in his research on industrial management, developed "principles of scientific management," which leaders

in education applied to public schools. Progressives used these principles to rationalize and systematize human factors in educational production, placing the management of public schools in the hands of experts at the top while deskilling work at the bottom. "Taylorizing" the classroom, for instance, meant prescribing and enforcing the activities students carried out under the supervision of their instructors. Thus, the management of learning was divorced from those who actually taught and studied, the final step in separating planning from execution (Callahan, 1962; Spring, 1972; Tyack and Hansot, 1982).

The Progressives, however, were not able to recreate big-city schools completely in the image of the industrial model of scientific management because educational outcomes were considerably harder to measure than the products of a factory. The objectives of schooling were less precisely defined than profit and loss in a business, and the relationship between these outcomes and the new organizational methods was by no means certain.

Nonetheless, some similarities did emerge between the organization of a business enterprise and the structure of urban schools. There was the bureaucratization of the superintendent's central office; diversification of the school organization into functional divisions, such as guidance departments, vocational schools, attendance services, building and maintenance, and special schools for the handicapped; and the establishment of research and planning departments to provide evidence on operations and data for forecasting. Bureaucratic rules, procedures, forms and files expanded along with the appearance of new cadres of educational specialists (Callahan, 1962; Spring, 1972; Tyack and Hansot, 1982).

By the early 1950s, school systems in the larger cities were characterized by increasing organizational complexity, an expanding bureaucratic culture and growing numbers of experts. Public school governance and policymaking were dictated by managerial elites such as superintendents, researchers, theorists and an assortment of other specialists. Local school board members and the lay public largely deferred to the technical expertise of these professionals.

It is in the context of these social and educational changes and the ascending culture of expertise that we examine the educational concerns of urban African Americans.

III: Desegregation and Integration: The Limits of Expertise

America's own system of apartheid was set in motion by the 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. By the early 1950s, *de jure* racial segregation existed throughout southern school systems, and *de facto* segregation characterized northern school systemsr. The 1954 *Brown* decision, however, terminated state-sanctioned racial segregation in public schools. Challenging and overturning that legacy of cultural domination and racial oppression made *Brown* of monumental importance to African Americans and the Nation. The ruling set in motion the modern civil rights movement, elevating the hopes and aspirations of millions of African Americans who were seeking equal educational opportunity and quality education. Yet, in light of continuing racial separation in urban schools, some scholars have begun to reassess the Brown ruling and examine its consequences, even as many parents have begun to define what they mean by quality education.

Continuing Racial Separation

More than 30 years after *Brown*, and after numerous attempts at desegregation and integration, most African-American youngsters attend urban public schools that are predominantly non-White.

Recent studies of public school integration from 1968 to 1980 (Orfield, 1982, 1983) indicate that although racial separation in southern public schools has declined, it is rising in northeastern industrial states and in large cities which are undergoing major racial transformation. Data for 1980 show that 63 percent of African-American students nationwide were enrolled in schools that were predominantly non-White, and approximately one-third, or 33.2 percent, attended schools with a 90 to 100 percent non-White enrollment.

Public school racial separation is concentrated in five areas of the United States: (1) Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Connecticut; (2) Illinois, Missouri, Indiana and Michigan; (3) Washington, D.C. and Maryland; (4) Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas; and (5) California.

The issue of integrating public schools no longer deals solely with African-American and European-American students, because public school enrollment reflects an increasingly multicultural society. Hispanic Americans, for example, are a sizable and rapidly-growing population. Data for 1980 indicate that 84 percent were residents in large metropolitan areas, and 41 percent inhabit the central cities of metropolitan areas with populations of more than one million.

Moreover, Hispanic Americans are more likely than African Americans to attend schools with a predominantly non-White enrollment, although less likely than African Americans to attend schools in which the non-White enrollment is 90 to 100 percent. Nevertheless, the data show that in four states, a large proportion of Hispanic-American students attended schools that were almost completely non-White:

New York	57 percent
Texas	40 percent
New Jersey	35 percent
Illinois	32 percent
California	22 percent

With the constantly growing Hispanic population, it is safe to say that this trend will continue well into the foreseeable future. In addition, the flight of European Americans and the middle-class to the suburbs, other demographic changes and the inability of courts to bring about further societal reforms make additional progress in implementing the spirit of *Brown* almost impossible.

Reassessing the Brown Decision

The powerful images that surround the *Brown* ruling make it difficult to challenge the orthodoxy of the decision. Although the decision itself is correct, its assumptions and reasoning were ideologically driven by liberal integrationism. The result is that

emphasis was placed on realizing racial integration at all costs, instead of on achieving quality education, and the contemporary crisis in American education became a logical outgrowth of abandoning the requirements for effective education.

Kenneth Clark's behavioral-science research contributed significantly to Chief Justice Warren's opinion in *Brown* (Kluger, 1976). In his psychological experimentation, Clark used dolls representing African Americans and European Americans to infer the level of self-esteem among African-American children. Whenever a child showed a preference for a White doll, Clark interpreted this as a sign of low self-esteem. The poor self-image of African Americans, according to Clark, resulted from attending racially segregated public schools. This perspective resonates in the opinion of Chief Justice Warren when he writes that legally-imposed racially separate public schools create among African-American children "a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." After quoting a similar view expressed in the finding of the lower court, which nevertheless upheld segregation in Kansas, Warren noted that current knowledge in behavioral science supported the negative psychological impact of racial segregation on African Americans. Clark's research is referenced as authoritative evidence.

Clark's psychological research requires two observations. First, two strains of thought historically have characterized the African-American experience: integrationist and nationalist (Cruse, 1967). This dual outlook resulted from the legacy of chattel slavery, segregation and racism — a legacy now deeply embedded in American culture, thought and institutions. It was imposed on African and African-descended people during the colonial era, forcing them to exist simultaneously outside and inside the American social order.

At the turn of this century, W. E. B. DuBois articulated this African-American dualistic sensibility when he wrote:

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teut[illegible] and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, — a world which yields him no true self consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in

> amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (Dubois, 1961, p. 3).

Marcus Garvey's black nationalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s (Cronin, 1966; Garvey, 1969, 1970), which inspired the great masses of African Americans to take pride in their cultural heritage and color, was crushed as racial integrationism became dominant by the 1950s. While there was a black nationalist renaissance in the 1960s, the integrationist sensibilities of the African-American elite were dominant by the early 1980s, and black nationalism receded into subaltern levels of the African-American consciousness.

Clark's ideological orientation was evident when he called for racial integration to cure poor self-image among African-American children, but it is questionable if forcing African-American children into violent and hostile White school settings accomplishes this goal. The collective identity of African Americans, and their sense of purpose and direction in life, which are all indicators of high self-image, are more likely to emerge from studying African-American history and culture, which is more closely related to a nationalist perspective, and from the pursuit of quality education.

The second observation on Clark's psychological research is that by the 1950s, the interests of European-American managerial elites and African-American civil rights elites had converged. As Derrick Bell (1980) argues, European-American policymaking elites championed *Brown* for three political and economic reasons related to domestic and international interests:

1. The ruling helped improve America's credibility with developing Third World nations;

2. It offered the hope of freedom and equality to angry and disillusioned African Americans who had fought for these issues in World War II but who were denied human dignity in America; and

3. Its European-American supporters reasoned that racial segregation had prevented the South from advancing politically and economically.

African Americans abhorred the segregationist regime of the Old South, but the vast majority did not demand the racial integrationist strategies put forward by the liberal educational managerial elites and the civil rights establishment. African-Americans generally interpreted the *Brown* decision as creating the conditions for achieving equal educational opportunity which would lead to quality education. In fact, the protest against various tactics for integration and the later political maneuvers involved in the thrust for community control of schools in many urban areas represented a broad and major African-American challenge to educational managerialism.

The civil rights elite, who believed that integration had the highest priority, apparently had forgotten the eloquent message of W. E. B. Dubois on African-American education:

> Theoretically, the Negro needs neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. What he needs is Education. What he must remember is that there is no magic, either in mixed schools or in segregated schools. A mixed school with poor and unsympathetic teachers, with hostile public opinion, and no teaching of truth concerning black folk, is bad. A segregated school with ignorant placeholders, inadequate equipment, poor salaries, and wretched housing is equally bad. Other things being equal, the mixed school is the broader, more natural basis for the education of all youth. It gives wider contacts; it inspires greater self-confidence; and suppresses the inferiority complex. But other things seldom are equal, and in that case Sympathy, Knowledge, and the Truth, outweigh all that the mixed school can offer (DuBois, 1935, p. 335)

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, just after the *Brown* ruling, events surrounding issues of tracking and magnet schools further support the argument that most African Americans preferred quality education to integration.

First, in order to desegregate, school systems introduced a policy of assigning pupils by tracking. This managerial strategy evaded the Court's decision because it channeled the majority of African-American students into the lowest track early in their schooling career, and African-American residents in many big cities across the Nation battled urban public schools on this issue.

Community leaders and organizations in Washington, D.C., for example, petitioned the Committee on Education and Labor in the U.S. House of Representatives for a hearing on their grievances. They accused the managerial elites of racism, charging them with denying quality education to African-

American and poor European-American children. They declared that tracking was more harmful than segregation in the Old South, yet they did not ask for racial integration either; they demanded quality education.

Rev. Walter Gray, one of the petitioners who appeared at the congressional hearings, denounced the tracking policy and predicted the progressive deterioration of schools in the District if measures were not taken to reverse the trends he considered disastrous. His recommendations included the following:

1) Immediate termination of the tracking system, 2) Dismissal of the school superintendent, 3) An emphasis on quality education, 4) A uniform curriculum, 5) An annual performance evaluation of teachers, 6) A system of public school financial accountability to insure against discriminatory school funding policies that favored more affluent schools, and 7) Termination in the school system of the theory and practice of racial and cultural supremacy which attacked the dignity of African-American youngsters (*Investigation*, 1966).

At these hearings, there was a direct challenge to the managerial dominance of the District's public schools. One witness, Mrs. Jewell Mazique, a longtime Washington parent and community participant, exposed the limits of professional expertise and described the role that the lay public should have in educational policymaking. She asserted [emphasis added]:

> Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, we believe that conditions in our local schools, where moral development has declined, and where the quality of education obtained has deteriorated (in spite of rising budgets and Federal aid), command a public airing and an honest investigation of what is wrong. *If the administrators, educational theorists and other professionals cannot supply the answer, then it becomes the public's duty to assist.* We cannot continue indefinitely the downward trend toward imminent collapse of public education and expect our country to maintain its place in the sun (*Investigation*, 1966, p. 266).

Mrs. Mazique provided a critical analysis of tracking, which she referred to as a system of "programmed retardation." She attacked the practice of using the term "ability grouping" and "tracking" interchangeably, pointing out that the former term allowed parental choice in a child's educational development, while the latter term did not.

Mrs. Mazique further charged that tracking was grounded in theories of "cultural deprivation," which assumed that African-

American children were uneducable or lacked sufficient motivation to learn. She indicated that the traditional African-American yearning for knowledge dated back to the emancipation of chattel slaves, and if something had interrupted that motivation in recent years, the problem should be placed at the door of the tracking policy. She concluded with a call for the termination of the tracking system and the institutionalization of an educational program of excellence throughout the District's public schools (*Investigation*, 1966).

Unfortunately, like so many residents in other urban areas, Washington's African-American community lost the political contest for quality education. Although two educational experts from Howard University condemned the tracking system, they also presented statistical data and arguments interpreted as favoring the policy of racial balancing which became popular after being sanctioned in research by sociologist James Coleman, whose work had been commissioned by the U.S. Congress (Coleman, et al., 1966; Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972).

The strategy of tracking was terminated as a policy in the late 1960s. However, the educational managerial elite and the civil rights advocates won the day, in Washington and throughout the Nation, with the implementation of various court-mandated integration policies such as racial-balance busing, magnet school programs and other educational experiments. They had put forward integration as the *goal* of education, rather than as a *means to an end*, and forced it on public schools at all costs, but the contradictions quickly became apparent (Hayes, 1987).

As they implemented the integrationist policies, good classroom teaching declined, the fundamental tools of knowledge were abandoned, academic motivation and the building of positive characters were subverted, and conflicts arose over the implementation of integration policies in urban school districts across the nation. (*Court-ordered*, 1981; *The 14th Amendment*, 1981; *School desegregation*, 1981; Buell, 1982; Kirp, 1982; Lukas, 1985; Sheehan, 1984; Willie and Greenblatt, 1981). There was also growing popular dissatisfaction surrounding the issue of integration in urban areas across the nation (Hayes, 1987; Metz, 1978; Rubin, 1972).

As the previous strategies for bringing about racial integration in the nation's public schools have neither accomplished their

goal of integration nor improved the quality of education, the managerial elite began pushing another educational experiment to achieve the same ends. In urban neighborhoods that are predominantly African American or Hispanic American, policymakers created so-called "magnet schools." Enriched academic programs were created specifically to entice European-American students, usually from outlying areas, to enroll in these schools.

Willis Hawley and his colleagues, who support integration, predict the following:

> [A]cademic magnets may promote racial, socioeconomic, and academic resegregation, stigmatize non-magnet schools as inferior; lead to the flight of white families whose chidren are not admitted to these programs; and result in minority protest among those families whose children cannot attend these special schools. It seems desirable, therefore, to enrich curricula in all schools and to offer advanced and college preparatory courses in all secondary schools (Hawley, 1983, p. 57).

Writing from a different ideological standpoint, Harvard University law professor Derrick Bell outlines the consequences of the court-ordered integration policies that followed *Brown*:

> Such racial balance measures have often altered the racial appearnce of dual school systems witnout eliminating racial discrimination. Plans relying on racial balance to foreclose evasion have not eliminated the need for further orders protecting black children against discriminatory policies, including segregation within desegregated schools, the loss of black faculty and administrators, suspensions and expulsions at much higher rates than white students, and varying forms of racial harassment ranging from exclusion from extracurricular activities to physical violence. Antidefiance remedies, then, while effective in forcing alterations in school system structure, often encourage and seldom shield black children from discriminatory retaliation (Bell, 1980, pp 530-531).

The current managerial developments in America, which are distinguished by an underemphasis on quality education and an overemphasis on managing schools, teachers and students has resulted, as Arthur Wise (1979)
asserts, in the increased bureaucratization of both school organizations and the dynamics of relationships within the schools. Under these schooling processes, students tend to possess more of a pragmatic and accommodating orientation and less of an independent and critical sensibility (McNeil, 1986; Misgeld, 1985).

The Pursuit of Quality Education

The various developments and trends that began during the 1970s, as conservative and liberal policy intellectuals clashed over the benefits and costs of court-ordered integration strategies, have continued into the 1980s. Public schools now confront a growing number of complex problems, including functional illiteracy, dropouts and pushouts, declining discipline, drug use, teenage pregnancy, gang activity and teacher burnout (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1987)

Demands for reform have moved to center stage, but what can be expected of youngsters, whether African American, Hispanic American, European American or any other nationality, who were never taught to read, who never developed the responsibility to follow directions and carry out an assignment, who never learned to respect knowledge or its purveyors, and who never became masters of their own souls with self-discipline? This gathering educational tragedy is nothing less than a betrayal of the nation's public schools, largely attributable to the experimentation and social engineering of the educational managerial elite (Washington, 1969).

Concerns about the effectiveness of education in public schools and the concomitant desire for quality education are persuading many African-American, Hispanic-American and European-American families, whether they are affluent or not, to seek alternatives to public schools. In cities across the United States, parents are sending their children to independent, or private, schools. Current research suggests that these independent schools may do a better job of increasing academic achievement than public schools (Coleman, Hoffer and Kilgore, 1982; Coleman and Hoffer, 1987; Ratteray and Shujaa, 1987).

Bell (1980) argues that the interests of African Americans in quality education would be better served by focusing on strengthening the educational effectiveness of existing schools, whether they are integrated or have a completely African-American enrollment. This is consistent with a growing demand by families to return to teaching educational fundamentals (Pines, 1982). There also appears to be a consensus among parents, whether their children are in public or private schools, that quality education has three components: basic education, academic motivation and character development.

First, the fundamental tools of knowledge consist of reading, writing, computational skills and thinking. This basic education must be acquired early in a child's educational career, as it is the absolute foundation for future learning experiences and the preparation for employment opportunities.

Second, academic motivation gives students the desire to learn and to assume the responsibility of completing tasks through homework and related assignments. Students can be motivated to view education as a lifelong project which is increasingly necessary for social development and which enables them to take advantage of employment opportunities and achieve economic well-being. The conditions and dynamics of school organization affect this motivation to succeed in a knowledge-intensive managerial society.

Third, parents, schools and other social institutions need to reinstate the development of good character, for it prepares the young to take their place in the world. Great emphasis must be placed on inculcating positive attributes such as self-respect, self-esteem, self-confidence and self-discipline. Civic responsibility is an additional by-product of quality education, instilling respect for the rights and dignity of others and encouraging informed participation in a democratic society.

Quality education is a necessity in a technologically-advanced society such as the United States. It exists when the fundamental tools of knowledge are distributed to and mastered by all students according to their native ability, without regard to their family, racial, social and economic background. How this knowledge is provided and the nature of the curriculum by which it is conveyed must form the basis for subsequent tests and measurements of national goals for educational preparation.

Conclusion

The Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* ruling was correct; it was necessary to revoke the legally-sanctioned denial of equal educational opportunity to African Americans. However, the subsequent decision to overemphasize racial integration and underemphasize quality education was a mistake of enormous proportions. Educational policy experts, as members of an evolving professional-managerial elite, used their knowledge to

contribute significantly to policies such as busing for racial balance and magnet programs. These strategies were proclaimed as solutions to the problem of big-city public school segregation, but the fact that the *Brown* decision was intended to foster education seems to have been forgotten.

The contemporary dilemma in education reveals that social science researchers and policy intellectuals who contribute to the formulation and implementation of policies do not have all the answers to complex educational problems, and events change too rapidly for policy intellectuals to provide definitive answers. Moreover, social research, the specialized knowledge of experts, is always partial and fragmented. By the time this information reaches the policymaking arena, it is often obsolete.

Policy intellectuals will continue to influence educational policymaking in America's knowledge-intensive society, but the role of expertise must be clarified and refined in light of its limitations. On the other hand, society can no longer demand the simple answers to complex educational and social problems which policy experts often are asked to provide, as this is a certain formula for policy failure.

In a managerial society that is energized increasingly by knowledge, science and technology, people who do not have advanced academic credentials and the ability to utilize information for strategic decisionmaking may be left behind. This is happening already in inner-city areas where public schools have abandoned quality education. It is unfortunate that as a result of this retreat from quality education, several generations of African-American and Hispanic-American youth trapped in these schools have been academically sabotaged and will be left behind.

If the United States is to remain foremost among advanced technological nations and continue to have a global leadership role, quality education must be reinstated in all American schools.

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